



TITLE:

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CITATION:

Kimura, Masataka. The Revolution and Realignment of Political Parties in the Philippines(December 1985-January 1988): With a Case in the Province of Batangas. 東南アジア研究 1989, 27(3): 352-379

ISSUE DATE:

1989-12

URL:

<http://hdl.handle.net/2433/56376>

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The Revolution and Realignment of Political Parties in the Philippines (December 1985–January 1988): With a Case in the Province of Batangas

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I Introduction

The revolution¹⁾ of February 1986 and subsequent events drastically changed the alignment of political parties and their power relations. The once-dominant Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL) disintegrated rapidly, once the then President Marcos fled the country. Its leadership splintered into a few groups; it lost many followers. The state of the coalition of parties which supported Aquino's candidacy in the special presidential election, or the snap election as it has been popularly called, also changed dramatically. For example, Partido Demokratiko Pilipino Lakas ng Bayan (PDP-Laban) increased its membership size rapidly by great magnitude; it strengthened the position of the conservative bloc against that of the progressive bloc within the party and conflicts between the two aggravated. At the same

time, a new pro-Aquino party, *Lakas ng Bansa*, was formed by political leaders close to President Aquino and attracted many politicians at various levels who were supportive of her administration regardless of their previous party affiliations. The Liberal Party (LP)-Salonga Wing also enhanced its strength; it started to take an independent course of action, while remaining in the ruling coalition. Some parties became critical of President Aquino. The United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO), for one, was frustrated by and dissatisfied with the Aquino Administration, though it barely remained in the ruling coalition. The Mindanao Alliance and the Christian-Social Democratic Party (CSDP) left the coalition at an early stage and joined the opposition. *Bansang Nagkaisa sa Diwa at Layunin* (BANDILA)²⁾ increased its membership immediately

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1) There is an argument against using the term "revolution" on the ground that the February incident did not bring about any significant change either in the Philippine social structure or in the socio-economic characteristics of the ruling elite.

2) BANDILA decided, at its Second National Congress in October 1986, to remain a movement with a defined partnership agreement with one (or more) political party or coalition of parties, in spite of a preference among certain segments of its leadership to transform it into a political party or create its own political party. However, BANDILA is included in this paper together with political parties on the grounds that it played a significant role in the special presidential election and the ↗

after the revolution and then became not so visible as it used to be before the revolution. Leftist forces, which boycotted the special presidential election and were left out of the revolution, formed a new legal leftist party called Partido ng Bayan (PnB), which maintained close relations with another leftist organization, Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN).

An examination of the process in which the realignment of political parties developed and their power relations changed will shed light on certain important aspects of the characteristics of the Philippine political parties and party system and of the behavior of party politicians as well as of the nature of the revolution. What follows is an attempt with this view to give a brief account of the process of realignment of political parties and of the change in their power relations which took place during a period from the beginning of the special presidential election campaign in December 1985 until the local elections of January 1988. The period which covered only two years and a few months was an extremely hectic period which underwent five dramatic political events, namely, three sets of elections, a constitutional

revolution and that it intends to participate in the electoral process as well as in extra-parliamentary activities. On the other hand, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) is not included on the grounds that it resorts to non-electoral activities or armed struggle, that it did not play any significant role in the election and the revolution, and that the author does not have sufficient data on its state during the period covered in this paper.

ratification and a revolution. The period, therefore, is a very interesting and convenient period for studies of political parties. The account of the process is basically descriptive and divided into two parts. The first part tries to outline the political development at the national level. The second part focuses on the development in the province of Batangas³⁾ as a case at a local level. This was attempted to show that what took place at the two different levels were closely interrelated and that they took place according to their own respective logic and motives highly independent of each other in spite of the close interrelations especially in the case of so-called traditional political parties.⁴⁾

II The National Scene

The special presidential election which preceded and triggered off the revolution was a contest between KBL's presidential and vice-presidential candidates, namely, Ferdinand E. Marcos and Arturo M. Tolentino on the one hand and the UNIDO-Laban ng Bayan coalition's

3) The author has been conducting a case study of elections and politics in Batangas since 1984. A part of its results, which will be his dissertation, was utilized here to give a case of realignment of political parties at the provincial level. Since studies on party politics at the provincial level are scarce, it will give some insights into the state of political parties at this level.

4) The term "traditional political party" here refers to a kind of party which is built primarily upon networks of dyadic relations between individuals as described by Landé [1964].

Corazon C. Aquino and Salvador H. Laurel on the other hand, with leftist forces under BAYAN boycotting the election. Almost all the political parties and organizations were aligned into the three groups. The Nacionalista Party (NP)-Roy Wing which had been closely aligned with KBL supported the Marcos-Tolentino ticket. Laban ng Bayan was initially formed by eight parties and organizations: they were the LP-Salonga Wing, PDP-Laban, Panaghiusa, the Young Philippines Party, Bicol Saro, the National Union of Christian Democrats (NUCD), the Convenor Group and BANDILA [Laban ng Bayan 1985: 1-2]. Then, the Mindanao Alliance, the Muslim Federal Party, CSDP, the National Union for Liberation (NUL) and Laban ni Ninoy sa Gitnang Luzon also adhered to Laban ng Bayan [*ibid.*: Exhibit D].⁵⁾ There were some parties that were not aligned into the three groups. For example, the LP-Kalaw Wing fielded Eva Estrada Kalaw for Vice-President, while supporting Aquino for President. Ruben R. Canoy ran for the presidency under the Social Democratic Party. But, these parties were minor forces as evident in the number of votes they received.

Before the revolution, KBL had been the powerful ruling party under the leadership of the then President Marcos.

5) Since the Mindanao Alliance and NUL as well as Bicol Saro had been member organizations of UNIDO, it seems to suggest that they switched from UNIDO to Laban ng Bayan or synonymously from Laurel to Aquino at the last stage of the unification process of the opposition.

It had dominated Batasang Pambansa, the national legislature, by controlling about two thirds of its seats; it had almost monopolized local elective positions in most of the provinces, cities, and municipalities all over the country.⁶⁾ The then opposition, on the other hand, had been fragmented. They had had little say in the policy making process under the authoritarian regime; militant organizations had been resorting to non-parliamentary struggles such as large-scale demonstrations. The state of fragmentation was well reflected in the great difficulty the opposition encountered in agreeing on one common presidential candidate, when the special presidential election became imminent. It was only on December 11, the last day to file a certificate of candidacy, that Laurel, the president and presidential candidate of UNIDO, accepted the presidential candidacy of Aquino, the candidate of Laban ng Bayan, to become her running-mate on the condition that both of them run under the banner of UNIDO [Cunanan 1985: 6-7]. The coalition between UNIDO and Laban ng Bayan was formalized even later in the campaign period [Anonymous 1986b: 1 & 10].

6) In the 1980 local elections which were the last local elections before the revolution, all but four elected governors were KBL in the country's seventy-three provinces. The four non-KBL governors were Natalia F. Dumlao (NUL) of Nueva Vizcaya, Jose C. Laurel, V (NP) of Batangas, Federico O. Mengote (Independent) of Eastern Samar, and Homobono Adaza (Mindanao Alliance) of Misamis Oriental. See Philippines, Commission on Elections [Undated-a].

The presidential election turned out to be an unprecedentedly fraudulent one. Its aftermath led to the revolution. The process leading to the revolution is a much talked about story, which does not need to be repeated here. Marcos fled the country on February 25, 1986 to go into exile in Hawaii. Aquino took oath to be President earlier on the same day and appointed her cabinet members immediately. The Aquino Government was a revolutionary government in the sense that it was installed by a collaboration of the so-called "people's power" and rebel soldiers led by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and the Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos, in defiance of the 1973 Constitution. With her dictatorial power, President Aquino issued on March 25, 1986 Proclamation No. 3 otherwise known as Peaceful Constitution and abolished Batasang Pambansa together with the 1973 Constitution. The new government also started to replace by appointment the local elective officials who were mostly KBL with those who had campaigned for the Aquino-Laurel tandem in the special presidential election.

Immediately after the revolution, the KBL national leadership began to assess the new situation and to search for a way to deal with it. While former President Marcos was still trying to maintain his control over KBL from Hawaii through his close associates such as Nicanor Yñiguez and Jose Roño, Blas Ople, Marcos' Labor Minister, made clear that he was completely disengaging

from Marcos as early as March 7 at a meeting of the KBL Executive Committee. On March 13, a group of KBL members led by Ople made an agreement to form a new party from the ranks of KBL reformists. On March 15, the formation of Partido Nacionalista ng Pilipinas (PNP) was announced. PNP adopted a policy of "critical cooperation" with the Aquino Administration. Along this policy, it accepted President Aquino's invitation to serve in the Constitutional Commission; four of its leaders, namely, Blas Ople, Regalado Maambong, Teodulo Natividad and Rustico de los Reyes, Jr. became constitutional commissioners [Ople 1987: PNP Chronology].

The NP-Roy Wing was also involved in the move of Ople's group. In fact, the NP-Roy Wing, under the presidency of Rafael Palmares who succeeded former Sanator Jose Roy upon his death shortly after the revolution, was negotiating with PNP for a merger agreement in April. But the merger was not pushed through because Palmares, now joined by Renato Cayetano, a KBL assemblyman and close friend of Enrile, decided to reorganize NP with Cayetano as the secretary general. On August 19, on the occasion of Manuel Quezon's 103rd birthday, the revitalized Nacionalista Party, which was often called NP-Cayetano Wing, proclaimed a new beginning. Many KBLs joined the NP-Cayetano Wing among them Olongapo City Mayor Richard Gordon, Assemblymen Victor Agbayani, Antonio Carag,

Pedro Mendiola, etc. [Nacionalista Party 1986: 1-2]. According to Ople, "It became attractive even to members of the PNP and of the KBL because a strong impression was created that the new grouping was designed to be a political vehicle for the then Minister of National Defense, Hon. Juan Ponce Enrile, whose political objectives were deemed compatible with the interests of KBL assemblymen, governors and mayors who were thrown out of their elective posts with the abrogation by President Aquino of the Constitution of 1973 and the installation of a revolutionary government" [Ople 1987: 2]. Enrile formally joined

the NP-Cayetano Wing after he was dismissed from his cabinet post by President Aquino in November 1986.

While many KBL leaders abandoned KBL at an early stage, there were still many who stuck to their party at least for the moment. As of July 9, 1986, members of its Central Committee were reported to include not a few prominent politicians (see List 1).

As described above, most of the national leadership of KBL either joined PNP or the NP-Cayetano Wing, or remained as KBL; all the three parties were in opposition. There were, however, some different cases which have to be noted.

List 1 Members of KBL Central Committee as of July 9, 1986

Titular Head	Arturo Tolentino
Acting President	Nicanor Yñiguez
Acting Secretary-General	Manuel Garcia
Acting Treasurer	Edith Rabat
Regional Chairman (Region I)	Conrado Estrella
Regional Chairman (Region II)	Faustino Dy
Regional Chairman (Region III)	Mercedes Teodoro
Regional Chairman (Region IV)	Isidro Rodriguez
Regional Chairman (Region V)	Felix Fuentebella
Regional Chairman (Region VI)	Salvador Britanico
Regional Chairman (Region VII)	Lorenzo Teves
Regional Chairman (Region VIII)	Jose Roño
Regional Chairman (Region IX)	Vicente Cerilles
Regional Chairman (Region X)	Constantino Navarro
Regional Chairman (Region XI)	Alejandro Almendras
Regional Chairman (Region XII)	Ali Dimaporo
Regional Chairman (NCR)*	Gerardo Espina
Concon Representative	Antonio Tupaz
IBP representative	Rogelio Quiambao
Representative of former Congressmen	Ramon Duran
Representative of former Senators	Wenceslao Lagumbay
President, City Mayor's League representative	Honorato Perez
President, Municipal Mayor's League of the Philippines	Evaristo Singson
Chairman, National Association of Barangay Captains	Nora Petines

* NCR: National Capital Region

Source: [Yñiguez 1986]

For example, former Prime Minister Cesar Virata announced his retirement from politics some time after the revolution. Some like Agosto G. Ortiz, an Assemblyman from Sorsogon, and Rodolfo P. del Rosario, an Assemblyman from Davao del Norte joined *Lakas ng Bansa*, a new party under the ruling coalition supporting President Aquino, when it was formed in November 1986 [Anonymous 1986c: 1 & 2; 1986d: 3; Philippines, Records and Statistics Division, Commission on Elections Undated]. But, to join the ruling coalition was an exceptional course of action among the high level leadership of KBL.

The parties under the ruling coalition or the former opposition parties which supported Aquino and Laurel, namely, UNIDO and those united under *Laban ng Bayan*, were not to be as they had been either. Perhaps, UNIDO was one of the most frustrated parties by the situation that emerged after the revolution. When Aquino and Laurel formed a unified opposition ticket against Marcos for the special presidential election, there was an agreement that thirty percent of the Cabinet posts would go to UNIDO. But President Aquino did not honor the agreement for the reason that it was negated by changing conditions brought about by the revolution [Anonymous 1987i: 8]. Vice-President Laurel's prime ministership was also annulled when President Aquino abolished the 1973 Constitution which provided a semiparliamentary system of government. Vice-President Laurel's influence in the decision

making process of the Aquino Administration turned out to be small. This was enough to cause dissatisfaction among UNIDO leaders. Rene Espina, secretary-general of UNIDO, became most critical against the Aquino Administration at an early stage for this reason. Since then, UNIDO's leaders had come to perceive that it had been slighted by President Aquino compared with other parties under the ruling coalition. The situation was aggravated when UNIDO could not get as many slots as they had expected in the ruling coalition's senatorial ticket which was selected by President Aquino for the congressional and senatorial elections in May 11, 1987. During this period, two prominent UNIDO leaders, Rene Espina and the then Deputy Defense Secretary Wilson Gamboa, left the party and joined the opposition.

PDP-Laban, in contrast, grew rapidly in its political influence and membership size. The fact that it came into power and the perception that it was the party closest to President Aquino because it endorsed Corazon Aquino's presidential candidacy at an early time and included among its highest leaders Jose Cojuangco, Jr., a younger brother of President Aquino, attracted many politicians at various levels. Before the revolution, PDP-Laban had only about ten thousand members.⁷⁾ By the time its sixth national assembly, the second after the revolution, was held in October 1986, its

7) Interview, Mimi Abdul (a secretary of PDP-Laban), Office of Sen. Aquilino Pimentel, Jr., Maya Building, Cubao, Quezon City, June 20, 1988.

membership size expanded to nearly two hundred thousand.⁸⁾ The expansion was brought about mainly by affiliations of traditional politicians at local levels, many of whom were formerly affiliated with KBL and now gravitated toward the new power center. There were many cases in which the recruitment of new members was done without full compliance with procedures relative to the membership admission such as attendance to a sixteen-hour two-day membership seminar. This created a conflict between the progressive bloc led by Aquilino Pimentel, Jr. that insisted on strict screening in membership admission and on the party platform on the one hand and the conservative bloc led by Jose Cojuangco, Jr. that generally followed a traditional pattern of politics on the other hand.⁹⁾ The momentum was in favor of the conservative bloc and resulted in the election of Jose Cojuangco, Jr. as its party head to replace Aquilino Pimentel, Jr. in its sixth national assembly. PDP-Laban's once progressive character was fatally weakened and the relations between the two blocs continued to deteriorate.

The rise of PDP-Laban was not unchallenged among pro-Aquino Parties. On November 10, 1986, a new grouping of pro-Aquino political leaders, many of whom were cabinet ministers, launched a movement called *Lakas ng Bansa*,

which eventually transformed itself into a political party before the congressional and senatorial elections of May 1987. *Lakas ng Bansa* envisioned to organize individuals and members of all political parties, forces, organizations, movements and groups who would support the Aquino Administration [*Lakas ng Bansa* 1986: Article II, Section II, 4]. In fact, it recruited members of various political parties including former KBLs. The principal officers of *Lakas ng Bansa* with their government positions and previous party affiliations were as provided in List 2.

That the majority of the principal officers of *Lakas ng Bansa* were cabinet ministers and other high government officials and that it involved President Aquino's close relatives such as Jose Cojuangco, Jr., a brother, Paul Aquino, a brother-in-law, and Emigdio S. Tanjuatco, Jr., a cousin, created an image that it was a political party of President Aquino, though she remained unidentified with any specific political party. *Lakas ng Bansa* grew rapidly by incorporating many politicians who gravitated to the second new power center. Interestingly, many of its principal officers were former ranking UNIDO officers who were allies of Vice-President Laurel at least until Corazon Aquino appeared to be a presidential candidate. Some like Leticia R. Shahani and Heherson T. Alvarez were not affiliated with any major political parties before the revolution. It also accepted former KBLs who switched their loyalty to President Aquino. From

8) Interview, Joseph Leñada (assistant staff of PDP-Laban), Cojuangco Building, Makati, August 2, 1988.

9) Interview, Tonyo Santos (a chapter chairman of PDP-Laban in Pasig), Office of Sen. Pimentel, Maya Building, Cubao, June 20, 1988.

List 2 Principal Officers of Lakas ng Bansa with Their Government Positions at the Time of its Inception and Party Affiliations Before the Revolution

President	Neptali A. Gonzales Minister of Justice UNIDO
Secretary-General	Emigdio S. Tanjuatco, Jr. (No Data) PDP-Laban
Deputy Secretary-General	Paul Aquino None (Businessman) (No Data)
Deputy Secretary-General	Jose Malvar Villegas, Jr. None Lapiang Manggagawa
Treasurer	Manuel B. Samora, Jr. (No Data) (No Data)
Chairman, Region I	Ernesto M. Maceda Minister of Natural Resources UNIDO
Co-Chairman, Region I	Leticia R. Shahani Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs None (in Foreign Service)
Chairman, Region II	Heherson T. Alvarez Minister of Agrarian Reform None (US-based Ninoy Aquino movement)
Chairman, Region III	Rogaciano M. Mercado Minister of Public Works and Highways UNIDO
Chairman, Region IV	Ramon V. Mitra Minister of Agriculture PDP-Laban
Chairman, Region V	Luis R. Villafuerte Minister, Presidential Commission on Government Reorganization UNIDO
Chairman, Region VI	Arthur D. Defensor (No Data) UNIDO
Chairman, Region VII	Antonio V. Cuenco Minister of State For Political Affairs PDP-Laban (Panaghiusa Coalition)
Chairman, Region VIII	Emil L. Ong Administrator of National Food Authority PDP-Laban
Chairman, Region IX	Elnorita P. Tugung (No Data) (No Data)
Co-Chairman, Region X	Carlos O. Fortich OIC governor of Bukidnon KBL*
Co-Chairman, Region X	Vicente T. Emanó (No Data) (No Data)
Chairman, Region XI	Luis T. Santos (No Data) (No Data)
Chairman, Region XII	Omar M. Dianalan (No Data) (No Data)

List 2-Continued

Chairman, NCR	Alberto G. Romulo Minister of Budget UNIDO
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*Fortich defected from KBL and joined UNIDO amid the presidential election campaign [Anonymous 1986a: 1 & 6].

Source: *Lakas ng Bansa* [1987: Annex A]. Identification of their government positions were gathered from newspaper articles. For identifications of their previous party affiliations, a list of *Batasang Pambansa* assemblymen [Philippines, *Batasang Pambansa* 1985], newspaper articles and an interview with a former *Lakas ng Bansa* Organizer were used.

the above, it may be argued that *Lakas ng Bansa* was an attempt to ease out other parties under the ruling coalition, especially UNIDO, in order to become a dominant administration party by those politicians who threw their support to President Aquino. This may be one of the reasons why the respective top leadership of UNIDO, LP-Salonga Wing and NUCD kept distance from *Lakas ng Bansa*. While some prominent PDP-Laban leaders joined it, Aquilino Pimentel, Jr., a leader of its progressive bloc, did not join *Lakas ng Bansa* in spite of an invitation. When *Lakas ng Bansa* became a political party, many of the PDP-Laban leaders such as Ramon V. Mitra remained in *Lakas ng Bansa*, thereby abandoning their membership in PDP-Laban, though Jose Cojuangco, Jr. remained in PDP-Laban as its chairman.

The LP-Salonga Wing and NUCD which was revitalized after Raul Manglapus came back from his exile in the United States also increased their strength. But the two remained in relatively low profile compared with the three parties referred to above.

The Mindanao Alliance led by Homobono Adaza and CSDP led by Francisco Tatad, both of which had joined Laban

ng Bayan and supported Aquino and Laurel in the special presidential election, eventually left the ruling coalition and joined the opposition. Neither of the two leaders were appointed by President Aquino to any significant government position. The LP-Kalaw Wing which supported Aquino for President and Eva Kalaw for Vice-President outside the UNIDO-Laban ng Bayan coalition also joined the opposition.

The political condition that emerged after the revolution added a new element to the Philippine political party system. On August 30, a legal party of leftist forces named Partido ng Bayan (PnB) was formally proclaimed at its founding congress. It will be reasonable to believe that the party was a brainchild of Jose Ma. Sison, the founder and former chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), who worked as Chairman of the Preparatory Commission of PnB. Sison and Bernabe Buscayno, the founder of the New People's Army (NPA), both of whom had been imprisoned until released by the Aquino Administration six months before, were among those seated at the main table at the founding congress. The late Rolando M. Olalia, the then chairman of Kilu-

sang Mayo Uno (KMU), a radical labor confederation, became Chairman of PnB. In Sison's words, the party was "the fruit of the well-developed legal democratic movement which includes the mass organizations of the working class, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie, as well as the sectoral and multisectoral alliances of these mass organizations" [Sison Undated: 1], and "a response to the long crying need for a legal party that can strive to break the monopoly of the exploiting classes over the electoral process and serve as the instrument of the exploited classes" [*ibid.*: 2].

The picture of realignment of political parties is not complete without taking into consideration the two major umbrella organizations of cause-oriented groups and sectoral and multi-sectoral groups, namely, BAYAN and BANDILA.

BAYAN's boycott position in the special presidential election created disunity and confusion in the organization. It suffered a host of leaves-of-absence and resignations among its leaders. The boycott position did not get the broad support of the masses. BAYAN's mass mobilization capacity fell dramatically, and its detachment from the masses was most serious in Metro Manila and in some major cities [BAYAN 1986: 12-16]. Because of this, it was left out of the February uprising and, therefore, could not participate in shaping the political course of the country after the revolution. The period after the revolution was a period of reconstruction of BAYAN.

But the process of reconstruction seemed full of hardships such as harassment by rightists including the assassination of National Vice-President Rolando Olalia in November 1986 and of Secretary General Leandro Alejandro in September 1987, and financial constraints.

BANDILA, in contrast, expanded significantly after the revolution. It was among the first political organizations to endorse the presidential candidacy of Corazon Aquino. It marshalled its organization resources to augment the campaign machinery of Aquino as well as to prepare the citizenry for vigilante action during and after the polls. It also used this opportunity to expand its influence and organization in the regions and provinces [BANDILA 1986: 8]. In the February uprising, BANDILA immediately responded through its president, Agapito Aquino, to the situation created by the rebel soldiers and mobilized its Metro Manila members which formed the initial force of what was to be known as "people's power" on EDSA. BANDILA, unlike BAYAN, responded successfully to the sentiment of the masses and continued to expand its popular support in the period immediately after the revolution. By October 1986 when its second national congress was held, the number of BANDILA member organizations and local chapters reportedly increased to 434 in twelve regions, forty-six provinces, thirty-six cities and eleven municipalities in Metro Manila. In addition, its membership was complemented by national sectoral partner organizations

such as the Federation of Free Workers (FFW) and Lakas ng Magsasakang Pilipino (LMP) and multi-sectoral coalitions and alliances, such as kapulungan ng mga Sandigan ng Pilipinas (KASAPI), the total number of member organizations reaching 1,047 [*ibid.*: 20-23]. Thereafter, however, BANDILA gradually became less active than before. There were a number of reasons for this. After the revolution, it became a de facto member of the ruling coalition and many of its leaders and members entered the Aquino Administration. The kind of activities such as mass actions that it had resorted to during its anti-Marcos struggle became irrelevant in the new political condition brought about by the restoration of democracy. The rapid membership expansion and affiliation of diverse organizations seem to have undermined its organizational cohesiveness. Also, it lacked a clear-cut, immediate common goal such as dismantlement of the Marcos regime.

By the time of the plebiscite in February 1987 for ratification of a newly drafted constitution, the realignment of political parties came into a shape. The parties under the ruling coalition were campaigning solidly for approval of the new constitution together with BANDILA. The major traditional opposition parties, except for PNP, came to form the Coalition for Democratic Action (CODA) on January 14 to campaign against the constitution. Those that joined CODA included KBL, the NP-Cayetano Wing, the Mindanao Alliance, the LP-

Kalaw Wing, CSDP, Pusyon Bisaya and Timawa [Anonymous 1987a: 1 & 6; 1987b: 1 & 11; 1987c: 1 & 2]. PNP led by Ople did not join CODA and campaigned for the constitution on the ground that four PNP leaders were members of the Constitutional Commission that drafted the constitution and that its ratification could pave the way for the normalization of the country's political system [Anonymous 1987d: 3]. BAYAN failed to reach a definitive position and adopted a noncommittal "conscience vote" policy, giving its members the option to approve or reject the constitution. KMU and Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP), the two largest member organizations of BAYAN, however, campaigned for its rejection [Anonymous 1986d: 8]. The position of PnB was deferment of the ratification. It was because peace negotiations between the government and the National Democratic Front (NDF) had started and ratification of the constitution would circumscribe terms of the negotiations.¹⁰⁾ The result of the plebiscite, after all, was that "Yes" vote garnered 76.37 percent while "No" vote got 22.65 percent of the 25 million registered voters [Anonymous 1987e: 1 & 16]: the constitution was ratified.

In the congressional and senatorial elections on May 11, 1987, there had emerged four major groupings of political parties, namely, Lakas ng Bayan, the Grand Alliance for Democracy (GAD),

10) Interview with Lui Gamit, Acting Secretary General of PnB, Mariwasa Bldg., Cubao, Quezon City, July 5, 1988.

Union for Peace and Progress-Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (UPP-KBL), and the Alliance for New Politics. Lakas ng Bayan was a name for the ruling coalition composed of Lakas ng Bansa, PDP-Laban, UNIDO, the LP-Salonga Wing and NUCD. BANDILA supported Lakas ng Bayan. GAD was a new umbrella organization of seven opposition parties, namely, the NP-Cayetano Wing, PNP, the Mindanao Alliance, the LP-Kalaw Wing, CSDP, a segment of KBL, and Muslim Federal Party. The UPP-KBL was composed mainly of those KBLs who were still closely identified with former President Marcos. Alliance for New Politics was an Alliance of PnB, BAYAN and other leftist forces. It has to be noted, however, that, while the senatorial contests were fought based on the four groupings, there were many congressional districts in which more complicated political alignments emerged. For example, there were many districts in which Lakas ng Bayan could not agree on common administration candidates and infighting among the parties under the ruling coalition took place. There were also many districts in which PnB and BAYAN did not have their own candidates and supported those of other parties or independents on a case-to-case basis. The result of the elections was a landslide for the ruling coalition. It won twenty-two of the twenty-four senatorial seats, while GAD won only two. Of the two hundred congressional seats, the ruling coalition won one hundred forty-five; GAD and UPP-KBL combined won twenty-

seven; PnB won only two; and others including independents won twenty-six [Philippines, Commission on Elections Undated-c].¹¹⁾

The realignment of political parties did not end here; it continued toward the forthcoming local elections. The first major event that took place in this context came shortly after a coup attempt of August 28 by a segment of the military led by Col. Gringo Honasan, that is, the Aquino-Laurel split. The Aquino Administration had been threatened by a series of military coup attempts since July 1986, and this one posed the most serious threat. Vice-President Laurel immediately took a pro-military posture and tendered his resignation on September 8, citing fundamental differences with President Aquino over the handling of the insurgency problem.

This move of Laurel developed into an attempt to form a strong opposition group. Negotiations for this purpose started between Laurel and Enrile, who headed UNIDO and NP-Cayetano Wing respectively. Leaders of other opposition parties such as Blas Ople of PNP and Isidro Rodriguez of KBL also participated in the negotiations. The development resulted in a kind of revival of the old Nacionalista Party without the Laurel Wing. The Nacionalista Party (hereinafter, NP-Enrile Wing) was joined

11) Partido Panaghiusa was counted as a party under Lakas ng Bayan together with the five parties which composed it. There were seven cases of LP without specification, which were counted as LP-Salonga Wing at the risk of including some LP-Kalaw Wing congressmen in Lakas ng Bayan.

by many former Nacionalista politicians who were under KBL such as Arturo Tolentino, Isidro Rodriguez, Blas Ople, Jose Roño, Wenceslao Lagumbay, Rodolfo Albano, etc., leaving only Marcos loyalists to KBL. Homobono Adaza of the Mindanao Alliance and Rene Espina also joined the NP-Enrile Wing. Rodriguez became its acting president and Ople became its secretary-general, with Enrile as its titular head.¹²⁾ At a press conference on November 14, the party announced its intention to field candidates in the forthcoming local polls [Guevarra 1987: 1 & 2]. On the other hand, many leaders of UNIDO, of which the NP-Laurel Wing constituted the core, are said to have resisted the move of Laurel to join the opposition, mainly because they had too much vested interest in the Aquino Administration to lose by doing so. UNIDO eventually chose to remain in the ruling coalition, the decision leading to a reconciliation between Aquino and Laurel on December 2, 1987 at the beginning of the campaign period of the local elections [Rueda 1987: 1 & 9].

As the local elections approached, other political parties also started to try to expand and to consolidate their organizations. Perhaps, the LP-Salonga Wing was the one that expanded most visibly. As of November 8, it was reported to have recruited Sen. Orlando

Mercado from UNIDO, Sen. Joseph Estrada from the opposition, Sen. Rene Saguisag, former President of Constitutional Commission, Cecilia Muñoz-Palma, and fifteen congressmen [Ronquillo 1987b: 1 & 8]. On January 12, 1988, Sen. Teofisto Guingona and Mar Canonigo who were Honorary Chairman and Secretary General of BANDILA also joined the LP-Salonga Wing with their following in BANDILA [Anonymous 1988a: 1 & 10]. This move of the LP-Salonga Wing could be seen not only as a preparation for the local elections but also as that for the presidential election in 1992. At the same time, Jovito Salonga who had become Senate President began to take an independent posture from the Aquino Administration, saying, "Cooperation but never subservience" [*loc. cit.*]; the party had already fielded its own candidates for the local elections [Estella 1988: 1 & 2]. Earlier, UNIDO had also announced its intention to field candidates in the local elections. This situation prompted another two major parties under the ruling coalition, namely, PDP-Laban headed by Jose Cojuangco, Jr. and Lakas ng Bansa headed by Paul Aquino, its acting president, to form a tactical alliance to field common candidates to be proclaimed by President Aquino [Logarta 1987: 1 & 10]. Pimentel's bloc in PDP-Laban, however, did not follow the alliance [Ronquillo 1987c: 3].

The result of the elections was again an overwhelming victory of parties under the ruling coalition, especially Lakas

12) Interviews with Isidro Rodriguez, Residence, Mandaluyong, July 5, 1988, and with Blas Ople, Manila Peninsula Hotel, Makati, July 20, 1988. Also see Ronquillo [1987a: 1 & 8], Guevarra [1987: 1 & 2], Anonymous [1987j: 1 & 7; 1987i: 1 & 15].

Table 1 Party Affiliations of Provincial Governors Elected in the 1988 Local Elections

Lakas ng Bansa (LB)	14
PDP-Laban	12
PDP-Laban/LB	10
LP	6
UNIDO	4
NP	3
PDP-Laban/LP/LB	3
KBL	2
LB/LP	1
UNIDO/LB	1
UNIDO/PDP-Laban	1
LP/PDP-Laban/NUCD	1
Ruling Coalition	1
Local Parties	4
Independents	7
No Data	3
Total	73

Source: Commission on Elections

Note: Party identifications are based on certificates of candidacy. The cases of two or more parties seem to be results of an elusive nature of membership in Philippine traditional political parties. They may as well be interpreted that the governors were candidates endorsed by two or more parties as their coalition candidates. In tabulation, BILEG Ti La Union (La Union), Balane (Nueva Ecija), Magdalo (Cavite), and Panaghiusa (Cebu) were counted as local parties; two KBLs included one independent KBL; and PDP-Laban/IPP was counted as PDP-Laban and Lakas ng Bansa/LLB as Lakas ng Bansa.

ng Bansa and PDP-Laban, except for Regions I and II where opposition and independent candidates made a fairly strong showing. As for the seventy-three provincial governors, for example, at least fifty-four of them were elected as candidates of parties or coalitions of

Table 2 Party Affiliations of OIC Governors Immediately Before the 1988 Local Elections

UNIDO	22
PDP-Laban	15
Lakas ng Bansa	15
LP	3
KBL	1
Panaghiusa	1
No Data	16
Total	73

Source: Philippines, Department of Local Government, Electronic Data Processing Service [1987]

parties under the ruling coalition (see Table 1). A comparison with party affiliations of OIC (officer-in-charge) governors who were appointed after the revolution (see Table 2) indicates that the number of governors under Lakas ng Bansa and PDP-Laban increased at the cost of UNIDO. The opposition could not make much headway; especially, KBL which had almost monopolized local elective positions in most of the provinces before the revolution was reduced to a powerless minor party.

III A Provincial Scene (A Case in Batangas)

In the province of Batangas before the revolution, there were only two major political parties, namely, KBL and UNIDO. Other parties were either non-existent or very weak. All the elective government positions in the province were occupied by KBL and UNIDO, except that one city vice-mayor and some city and municipal councilors were independent.

The Governor was UNIDO, while the Vice-Governor was KBL. Of the eight elective provincial board members, five were UNIDO and three were KBL. Of the thirty-four mayors, six were UNIDO and twenty-eight were KBL. In addition, of the four Batasang Pambansa Assemblymen from Batangas, UNIDO had three, while KBL had one.¹³⁾ The revolution and subsequent events changed the political picture completely.

KBL which was a dominant party before the revolution collapsed at once when its elective local officials from Vice-Governor to municipal councilors were replaced and it became clear that the national leadership of KBL was disintegrating and could not do anything for them. In contrast, UNIDO became a single dominant party under the leadership of the Laurels. In fact, it monopolized almost all the elective positions from the provincial governor to city and municipal councilors by replacing all the elective officials of KBL. But, this situation did not last more than a year and a few months. The political development that took place thereafter was a process of realignment of local political forces at the provincial and town levels and of penetration into and consolidation in Batangas of other national political parties.

One of the earliest developments was the formation of BISIG ng Batangas in

August 1986 by all the twenty-eight replaced KBL mayors and other replaced KBL elective officials with their followers. Jose B. Coz who had been Calatagan mayor and president of the Municipal Mayors League of Batangas became its president. Behind the formation of BISIG were several prominent Batangas politicians who served as its advisors. They included Manuel Collantes (former KBL assemblyman), Jose Malvar Villegas (Secretary-General of Lapiang Manggagawa), Querubin F. Makalintal (executive assistant, Bureau of Internal Revenue; LP-Salonga Wing), Ben Medrano (former KBL provincial board member), Antonio Leviste (former KBL governor of Batangas), Roberto Diokno (former KBL assemblyman). The main purposes of BISIG were to group together under a new party free from discredited KBL and to oppose the Laurels' UNIDO. But it did not work as an effective and enduring organization because it lacked strong leadership, and different politicians had different views. In the plebiscite for constitutional ratification in February 1987, BISIG could not take a unified stand. In the congressional elections in May 1987, it could not take any solid position or field common candidates either; each member supported his own candidate. It seems that BISIG had retreated into mere nominal existence since then and died a natural death.¹⁴⁾

13) The three UNIDO assemblymen were Jose B. Laurel, Jr., Hernando Perez, and Rafael Recto; the KBL assemblyman was Manuel Collantes. Recto, however, came to side with President Marcos sometime in 1985.

14) The account of BISIG ng Batangas here is based on interviews with Jose Z. Coz, Jr. (Calatagan Mayor and son of former Mayor Jose B. Coz), Municipal Hall, Calatagan, Batangas, July 13, 1988; Conrado ↗

Other new developments were the expansion of PDP-Laban and then the establishment of Lakas ng Bansa. PDP-Laban initially started to organize in Batangas in 1983 toward the Batasang Pambansa elections of May 1984.¹⁵⁾ But it was a weak force and, according to one estimate, had only one hundred to one hundred fifty members at the time of the special presidential election. After the revolution, many local politicians including former KBLs took membership seminars and even sponsored seminars for their followers; its membership size expanded rapidly. As of June 1988, it claimed to have nearly one thousand, with the majority identified with the Cojuangco faction.¹⁶⁾ Lakas ng Bansa, on the other hand, started to organize in Batangas shortly after it was formally launched in November 1986. Its initial provincial organizer was Dante Q. Barbosa, a close associate of Ramon Mitra, who had become Assistant Minister of Agriculture on February 27, 1986 when Mitra had become Minister of Agriculture. Barbosa was a leader of PDP-Laban and Chairman of the Cory Aquino

for President Movement (CAPM) in Batangas. In organizing Lakas ng Bansa in the province, he reactivated his PDP-Laban and CAPM networks as its nuclei and expanded them.¹⁷⁾

At this point, it will be relevant to examine the state of provincial organizations of BAYAN and BANDILA, which established their branches in Batangas some time before the special presidential election. Shortly after the founding congress of BAYAN-Southern Luzon in Silang, Cavite in July 1985, two officers for Southern Luzon and two leaders in Batangas who later became Chairman and Secretary General of BAYAN-Batangas formed a core group to establish BAYAN in Batangas. The core group tried to incorporate into BAYAN various sectoral and multi-sectoral groups such as trade unions, organizations of peasants and the urban poor, organizations of the youth and students, organizations of teachers and professionals, and religious groups. The founding congress of BAYAN-Batangas was held in Taal on September 28, attended by about three hundred people including Wigberto Tañada and Fr. Jose Dizon, Chairman and Vice-Chairman of BAYAN-Southern Luzon, as guest speakers. Its initial affiliates included Samahang Magbubukid ng Batangas, Samahang Mangangawil 78, Malayang Katipunang Manggagawa sa Batangas, and Samahan Maralita Baybay Dagat (peasant and labor sector); Barrio Sta. Clara Community (Batangas City based organization of the urban

\C. Berberabe (former Batangas City Mayor), residence, Batangas City, Batangas, July 13, 1988; Vicente B. Kalalo (a member of Provincial Board and former San Jose Mayor), Office of Governor, Batangas, August 2, 1988; and Bienvenido O. Castillo (Bauan Mayor), Municipal Hall, Bauan, Batangas, August 30, 1988.

15) Interview with Dante Q. Barbosa, Department of Agriculture, Quezon City, August 5, 1988.

16) Interview with Rolando A. Suarez (Chairman, Luzon Area Coordinating Council, PDP-Laban-Pimentel faction), Amparo Bldg., Manila, June 27, 1988.

17) Interview with Barbosa. See footnote 15).

poor); the League of Filipino Students (LFS) and Kabataan para sa Demokrasya at Nasyonalismo (KADENA) (students and youth sector); the Concerned Teachers of Our Lady Caysasay Academy; and member organizations of the Citizen Solidarity Movement of Batangas, a multi-sectoral group. Individual members of the Southern Tagalog Attorneys for National Democracy (STAND) led by Tañada and of the Medical Action Group also joined BAYAN-Batangas. It is not easy to estimate its exact organizational strength. Its mass mobilization capability, however, may tell something about it. BAYAN-Batangas claims to have mobilized two thousand one hundred members for mass action in Batangas City on the occasion of declaration of human rights day on December 9 and 10, 1985. When it boycotted the special presidential election, many members left the organization. On the same human rights day in 1986, the number of people mobilized declined to seven hundred. For the funeral procession in Manila for Leandro Alejandro, its assassinated Secretary-General, on September 29, 1987, it mobilized from one hundred fifty to two hundred Batangas members. BAYAN-Batangas ascribes the decline of its mass mobilization ability to military harassment and financial constraints. But it claims to have organized in most of the thirty-two municipalities and two cities in Batangas by 1988.¹⁸⁾

18) Interview with an organizer of BAYAN-Batangas, Makati, July 6, 1988.

BANDILA, the membership of which was heavily concentrated in Metro Manila at the time of its founding congress in August 1985, also endeavored to expand into the provinces. Its expansion work in Batangas as well as in other parts of Luzon was done mainly in October and November of that year.¹⁹⁾ Certain BANDILA leaders, using their personal contacts, approached organizations of workers and peasants, youth and professional groups, and church people. For example, Roy Oliveros, an officer of FFW who later became BANDILA Deputy Secretary General approached Sto. Tomas Academy Union in Sto. Tomas and Fr. Richard Panganiban of St. Francis de Sales Major Seminary in Lipa City. Riza Yapchiongco contacted Kapisanan ng Magsasakang Pilipino (KASAMA), a peasant organization based in Bauan and Balayan.²⁰⁾ Prior to this, Pascual Tonog, a farmer residing in the municipality of Bauan and part-time employee of a trading company in Manila, was introduced to BANDILA Secretary General Mar Canonigo by Raul Daza, Tonog's provincemate in Samar, in Salonga's residence in Pasig in September. Canonigo gave Tonog an authority to organize BANDILA in Bauan. Tonog approached workers of a shipyard of Philippine National Oil Company, farmers and students.²¹⁾ Interestingly, the sectoral composition of

19) Interview with Solphie Confiado, ANSCOR Bldg., Makati, January 6, 1988.

20) Interview with Roy Oliveros, BATU Office, Malate, Manila, June 27, 1988.

21) Interview with Pascual Tonog, Shakey's, Loyola, Quezon City, August 17, 1988.

the groups approached by BANDILA apparently overlaps that of BAYAN. It was not easy at that time to recruit members because of fear among the people. In Lipa City, for example, Fr. Panganiban arranged a two-day seminar in St. Joseph Seminary in November and invited people from different sectors of the city to help establish BANDILA. About fifty people attended the seminar and some ranking officers of BANDILA including Canonigo and Deputy Secretary General Toy Nepomuceno came and gave lectures to the participants.²²⁾ Of the fifty participants, only six, who were members of a Catholic charismatic group, became BANDILA members. The six included Willie Cucio, a youth leader, and Eldee Latayan, a book keeper of a local bank. In the special presidential election, they campaigned for Aquino and Laurel in a clandestine manner.²³⁾ In Bauan, BANDILA claims to have had about one hundred members campaigning for Aquino and Laurel. There were no BANDILA organizations in other towns in Batangas.²⁴⁾ After the revolution, BANDILA's membership in Batangas expanded rapidly. It organized in two other municipalities, namely, Balayan and Sto. Tomas. In September 1986, the Batangas Provincial Council of BANDILA was formed in an assembly held in the penthouse of Lipa City

Hall which was attended by about two hundred thirty members and some national officers including Canonigo. Collette Buenaventura, a leader of General Milling Corporation's labor union which was affiliated to FFW became Chairman of the council; Tonog, Cucio and Latayan became its President, Secretary General and Treasurer respectively. Since then, however, it has gradually become inactive. Especially since after the congressional and senatorial elections in May 1987, there have been few organizational activities, except that Tonog and Cucio who ran for their municipal and city councils in the local elections in January 1988 tried to utilize BANDILA organizations in their constituencies only to lose in the elections.²⁵⁾

Other national parties, though not so visible as PDP-Laban and Lakas ng Bansa, also tried to penetrate into and/or consolidate in Batangas. PNP which was formed by a group of former KBLs led by Ople in March 1986 affiliated Manuel Collantes and Antonio Leviste [Ople 1987: PNP Chronology & PNP Officers]. When the NP-Cayetano Wing emerged, Collantes left PNP and joined NP [Nolasco 1986: 1 & 6]. PnB also established its Batangas Chapter which was based in the municipality of Taal. A number of middle class forces of

22) Interview with Richard Panganiban, St. Francis de Sales Major Seminary, Lipa City, Batangas, January 7, 1988.

23) Interview with Eldee Latayan, Monte de Piedad & Savings Bank, Lipa City, Batangas, February 24, 1987.

24) Interview with Tonog. See footnote 21).

25) Interviews with Tonog (fn. 21) and Latayan (fn. 23). Regarding the membership size of BANDILA in Batangas, they claimed six thousand at the height of its organizational strength. However, even including FFW, KASAPI and KASAMA which was under LMP, the figure seems to include a certain degree of exaggeration.

List 3 Congressional Candidates in Batangas and Their Party Affiliations May 11, 1987 Elections

First District:

1. Apacible, Conrado Villadolid	: UNIDO
2. Cabrera, Roberto Jr. Vito	: Filipino Democratic Party-Lakas ng Bayan
3. De Castro, Hermogenes Jr. Cabral	: Bisig ng Batangas
4. Garcia, Bendos Martinez	: KBL
5. Goco, Raul Ilustre	: UNIDO
6. Ilao, Isidro Caisip	: LP
7. Mendoza, Loreto Ilao	: Independent
8. Mitra, Naul Antonio III Reyes	: Lakas ng Bansa
9. Razon, Ricardo Carolino	: Independent
10. Serrano, Federico Maneja	: UNIDO
11. Suarez, Rolando Arevalo	: PDP Laban
12. Vivo, Martiniano Pasno	: LP

Second District:

1. Calangi, Roberto Espinoza	: Laban ng Bayan (NP UNIDO)
2. Cordova, Jose Cusi	: Independent
3. Evangelio, Victorino	: Independent (UNIDO)
4. Hughes, Romeo Sanohan	: PDP Laban
5. Mandanas, Hermilando Ingco	: Independent
6. Perez, Hernando Benito	: UNIDO
7. Sulit, Felix Macatangay	:
8. Rosales, Nicasio Y Ilagan	: NP-GAD

Third District:

1. Carandang, Dante Angeles	: Independent
2. Collantes, Manuel Garcia	: NP-GAD
3. Hernandez, Cecilio Fajardo	: NP UNIDO Lakas ng Bansa-PDP Coalition
4. Leviste, J. Antonio Casals	: PNP NP KBL GAD
5. Trinidad, Milagros Laurel	: UNIDO-NP

Fourth District:

1. Adapon, Juan Cesar Dimaano	: PDP Laban, Independent
2. Calingasan, Jose Escano	: UNIDO
3. Dimayuga, Jose Recio	: NUCD
4. Gualberto, Crisanto II Samoy	: Lakas ng Bansa
5. Katigbak, Benedicto Kalaw	: Liberal, GAD
6. Lacdao, Antonio Dimayuga	: Independent
7. Mercado, Efren Honrade	: Independent
8. Publico, Rodolfo Inciong	: Independent LP Salonga
9. Roxas, Bodolfo Guillermo Macarandang	: Independent
10. Sabili, Meynardo Asa	: Independent Lakas ng Bansa NUCD

Source: Philippines, Commission on Elections [Undated-b]

BAYAN members joined PnB.²⁶⁾

In the congressional elections in May 1987, most of the national political parties could field their respective candidates

26) Interview with an organizer of BAYAN-Batangas. See footnote 18).

in Batangas, if not in all the four districts therein; in other words, many of the congressional aspirants could find parties to run under (see List 3). PnB and BAYAN did not field their own candidates and, instead, supported one PDP-

Laban candidate and three independents, namely, Rolando Suarez (PDP-Laban), Hermilando Mandanas (independent), Dante Carandang (independent) and Efren Mercado (independent).²⁷⁾

The result of the congressional elections in Batangas was an overwhelming victory of UNIDO which elected congressmen in all the four districts. The four congressmen were Conrado V. Apacible, Hernando B. Perez, Milagros Laurel Trinidad (a daughter of former Speaker Jose B. Laurel, Jr.), and Jose E. Calingasan. Therefore, in spite of the penetration and/or the consolidation of other national political parties, the political picture in Batangas from after the revolution when the KBL elective officials were replaced by UNIDO members until the congressional elections can be described as domination of UNIDO. The domination of UNIDO was almost synonymous with the domination of the Laurels, who now had Vice-President, a senator (Sotero H. Laurel) and a congresswoman (Milagros Laurel Trinidad), and were grooming Benjamin C. Laurel as a gubernatorial candidate of UNIDO.

Events that were to change the picture drastically took place shortly after the elections, that is, the Laurel-Perez split and the formation of an anti-Laurel coalition.

Perez, being a godchild of Jose B. Laurel, Jr., had been under the Laurels throughout his political career especially since 1980 when he had been elected as

a provincial board member under the Laurels' NP. The reasons why Perez split from the Laurels, in his own explanation, were that Vice-President Laurel used his influence on President Aquino in the selection process of the ruling coalition's senatorial candidates in order to include his brother, Sotero H. Laurel, and Perez was not included because of this and that the Laurels decided to field another member of the family as a gubernatorial candidate of UNIDO in the next local elections.²⁸⁾ At the time of the congressional elections in May, however, Perez remained under the Laurels at least on the surface. His open split with the Laurels came at the time when the ruling coalition was selecting its candidate for Speaker of the House of Representatives in June. While the Laurels supported Francisco Sumulong as the UNIDO's candidate, Perez supported Mitra, a presidential aspirant and rival of Vice-President Laurel [Borjal 1987: 4-5]. Mitra eventually became Speaker.

Meanwhile, there was a move among certain Batangas politicians to form a coalition in order to field common candidates in the forthcoming local elections to wrest the provincial leadership from the Laurels. The principal initiators of the move were Jose Malvar Villegas, Querubin Makalintal and

28) Perez raised these points persistently in his speeches throughout the campaign period of 1988 local elections. He even went on to say that the Laurels intended to block inclusion of his name in the senatorial ticket. But this contradicted with the claim of the Laurels.

27) See footnote 26).

Crisanto Gualberto, a defeated congressional candidate of Lakas ng Bansa. When Perez split with the Laurels, they tried to join hands with Perez and his fol-

lowers and sympathizers. After a series of talks among the politicians involved, the anti-Laurel coalition got into shape by mid July and Perez became the chair-

List 4 Mayors of Batangas Before the Revolution and Their Party Affiliations

Municipality/City	Mayor	Party Affiliations	
		Dec. 1985	Jan. 1988
(First District)			
1. Balayan	L. Ramos	KBL	(DNR)
2. Calaca	A. Casanova	UNIDO	UNIDO
3. Calatagan	J. Coz	KBL	LP/LB
4. Lemery	H. de Castro	KBL	LB
5. Lian	C. Lamano	UNIDO	UNIDO
6. Nasugbu	P. Reñosa	KBL	LP
7. Taal	P. Gahol	KBL	(DNR)
8. Tuy	L. Calingasan	KBL	UNIDO
(Second District)			
9. Batangas City	C. Berberabe	KBL	LP
10. Bauan	B. Castillo	KBL	UNIDO
11. Lobo	R. Sulit	KBL	LP
12. Mabini	R. Amurao	KBL	LB
13. San Luis	O. Diokno	KBL	(DNR)
14. San Pascual	E. Lualhati	KBL	Ind.
15. Tingloy	A. Datingaling	UNIDO	Ind.
(Third District)			
16. Agoncillo	A. Alcantara	KBL	(DNR)
17. Alitagtag	M. Hernandez	KBL	(DNR)
18. Balete	H. Ramirez	KBL	LB
19. Cuenca	V. Reno	UNIDO	(DNR)
20. Laurel	P. Amo	KBL	LB
21. Malvar	M. Reyes	UNIDO	LB
22. Mataas na kahoy	I. Laluna	KBL	(DNR)
23. San Nicolas	T. Mayuga	KBL	LB
24. Sta. Teresita	N. Segunial	KBL	(DNR)
25. Sto. Tomas	L. Laurel, Jr.	KBL	PDP-Laban
26. Talisay	A. Laurel	KBL	(DNR)
27. Tanauan	S. Olfato	UNIDO	UNIDO
(Fourth District)			
28. Ibaan	R. Reyes	KBL	(DNR)
29. Lipa City	C. Solis	KBL	(DNR)
30. Padre Garcia	E. Gutierrez	KBL	LB
31. Rosario	F. Magracia	KBL	LB
32. San Jose	V. Kalalo	KBL	LB
33. San Juan	V. Lecaroz	KBL	(DNR)
34. Taysan	I. Sulit, Jr.	KBL	LB

LB: Lakas ng Bansa; (DNR): Did Not Run

Source: Philippines, Provincial Development Staff, Batangas [1980]; Philippines, Commission on Elections [1987]

Table 3 Party Affiliations of the Replaced Former KBL Mayors at the Time of the 1988 Local Elections

Number of the Replaced Former KBL Mayors	28
Number of Those who Ran in the Elections	17
Under Lakas ng Bansa	10
Under UNIDO	2
Under LP-Salonga Wing	3
Under PDP-Laban	1
As Independent	1
Number of Those Who Did Not Run	11

man of the coalition now called Lakas ng Batangan. Congressman Apacible who was also a godchild of Laurel, Jr. became its vice-chairman. Party affiliations of those who coalesced under Lakas ng Batangan included seven political parties, namely, UNIDO (Perez Wing), Lakas ng Bansa, the LP-Salonga Wing, the LP-Kalaw Wing, PNP, Lapiang Manggagawa and BISIG ng Batangas.²⁹⁾

The major political division in Batangas from after the revolution until the congressional elections had been basically an extension of the division that existed at the time of the special presidential election, though significant changes had steadily been taking place as already described. In other words, the division had been between those who supported Marcos-Tolentino and those who supported Aquino-Laurel. The Laurel-Perez

split and the formation of the anti-Laurel coalition changed the political picture completely. Now, the major political division in Batangas was a division between the pro-Laurel and the anti-Laurel. The new division made the previous division almost irrelevant. The majority of politicians in Batangas were to be realigned into the two camps toward the local elections. It is interesting to note that, out of the twenty-eight replaced KBL mayors who once grouped together under BISIG, seventeen ran in the local elections and did so as candidates of parties under the ruling coalition except for one who ran as an independent (see List 4 and Table 3). The largest number ran under Lakas ng Bansa. While most of the KBL national leadership remained in the opposition, if not in KBL, after the revolution (see List 5); most of its local affiliates switched to the parties under the ruling coalition by the time of the local elections, taking advantage of the rivalry among the parties. As for the thirty-four OIC mayors who were all UNIDO at the time of their appointments, eighteen ran in the local elections under UNIDO, nine under Lakas

29) Interview with Jose Malvar Villegas, Manila Peninsula Hotel, July 18, 1988. Also see Anonymous [1987f: 35; 1987g: 28; 1987h: 18; 1987k: 33]. It has to be noted that Villegas is an elusive figure. In the special Presidential election, he supported Marcos and Tolentino. When Lakas ng Bansa was formed, he became its deputy secretary general. Shortly before the congressional and senatorial elections, he left Lakas ng Bansa.

List 5 Members of KBL Central Committee at the Time of the Special Presidential Election and Their Party Affiliations After the 1988 Local Elections

Party President	Ferdinand Marcos	(KBL)*
Vice-President for Luzon	Eduardo Cojuangco	(KBL)*
Vice-President for Visaya	Benjamin Romualdez	(KBL)*
Vice-President for Mindanao	Ali Dimaporo	KBL
Secretary-General	Jose Roño	NP
Deputy Secretary-General	Juan Tuvera	
Treasurer	Roberto Benedicto	(KBL)*
Regional Chairman		
NCR	Imelda Marcos	(KBL)*
Region I	Conrado Estrella	KBL
Region II	Juan Ponce Enrile	NP
Region III	Eduardo Cojuangco	(KBL)*
Region IV	Isidro Rodriguez	NP
Region V	Felix Fuentebella	KBL
Region VI	Roberto Benedicto	(KBL)*
Region VII	Lorenzo Teves	NP
Region VIII	Benjamin Romualdez	(KBL)*
Region IX	Vicente Cerilles	NP
Region X	Constantino Navarro, Sr.	KBL
Region XI	Alejandro Almendras	NP
Region XII	Ali Dimaporo	KBL

* Out of Country

Note: Identification of party affiliations was done by Atty P. Patacsual, a staffer of Minority Floor Leader Rodolfo Albano's office and formerly of KBL national head quarter, on August 16, 1988.

ng Bansa, one as independent; six did not seek elections (see List 6 and Table 4).

The anti-Laurel coalition or Lakas ng Batangan was never a monolithic or cohesive organization. It had two major factions. The more powerful of the two was a faction led by Perez; the other faction was led by Villegas. It was very difficult for them to agree on a common gubernatorial candidate against the candidate of the Laurels' UNIDO. The two factions eventually came to take their own courses respectively. The Perez faction groomed Vicente A. Mayo who was OIC Vice-Governor and close

associate of Perez. As the local elections approached, the Perez faction came to be identified closely with Lakas ng Bansa through his alliance with Speaker Mitra. On November 14, a provincial convention of Lakas ng Bansa was held in Western Philippine Colleges in Batangas City; Perez, Apacible and local candidates of the faction including Mayo formally affiliated to Lakas ng Bansa in an oath-taking ceremony administered by its Secretary-General, Tanjuatco.³⁰⁾ The Villegas faction, on the other hand, came to join hands with the LP-Salonga

30) Interview with Vicente Mayo, Office of Governor, Batangas, August 2, 1988.

List 6 OIC Mayors of Batangas and Their Party Affiliations

Municipality/City	OIC Mayor	Party Affiliations	
		Feb. 1986	Jan. 1988
(First District)			
1. Balayan	B. Martinez	UNIDO	UNIDO
2. Calacca	A. Casanova	UNIDO	UNIDO
3. Calatagan	P. Palacio, Jr.	UNIDO	LB
4. Lemery	R. Ornales	UNIDO	UNIDO
5. Lian	C. Lamano	UNIDO	UNIDO
6. Nasugbu	R. Apacible	UNIDO	LB
7. Taal	C. Cañiza	UNIDO	LB
8. Tuy	P. Macalalad	UNIDO	(DNR)
(Second District)			
9. Batangas City	J. Atienza	UNIDO	UNIDO
10. Bauan	P. Boongaling	UNIDO	LB
11. Lobo	O. Lachica	UNIDO	LB
12. Mabini	B. Calangi	UNIDO	(DNR)
13. San Luis	L. Abrenica	UNIDO	LB
14. San Pascual	M. Magsaysay	UNIDO	LB
15. Tingloy	A. Datingaling	UNIDO	Ind.
(Third District)			
16. Agoncillo	N. de Sagun	UNIDO	UNIDO
17. Alitagtag	J. Dimaandal	UNIDO	(DNR)
18. Balete	G. Mendoza	UNIDO	UNIDO
19. Cuenca	V. Reno	UNIDO	(DNR)
20. Laurel	N. Panganiban	UNIDO	UNIDO
21. Malvar	M. Reyes	UNIDO	LB
22. Mataas na Kahoy	C. Landicho	UNIDO	UNIDO
23. San Nicolas	G. Tenorio	UNIDO	UNIDO
24. Sta. Teresita	B. Andal	UNIDO	UNIDO
25. Sto. Tomas	P. Malvar	UNIDO	UNIDO
26. Talisay	B. Platon	UNIDO	UNIDO
27. Tanauan	S. Olfato	UNIDO	UNIDO
(Fourth District)			
28. Ibaan	N. Toreja	UNIDO	UNIDO
29. Lipa City	R. Umali	UNIDO	UNIDO
30. Padre Garcia	J. Pesigan	UNIDO	(DNR)
31. Rosario	J. Agoncillo	UNIDO	UNIDO
32. San Jose	E. Umali	UNIDO	(DNR)
33. San Juan	A. de Villa	UNIDO	LB
34. Taysan	D. Driz	UNIDO	UNIDO

Source: Philippines, Provincial Government of Batangas [1986], Philippines, Commission on Elections [1987]

Wing which had just embarked on a nation-wide organizational blitz. On the same November 14, the faction including candidates for the local elections led by Antonio Leviste, a gubernatorial candi-

date, formally affiliated with the LP-Salonga Wing at a proclamation-oath-taking ceremony administered by Senate President Jovito Salonga at the residence in Cubao, Quezon City of Judy

Table 4 Party Affiliations of the OIC Mayors at the Time of the 1988 Local Elections

Number of the OIC Mayors	34
Number of Those Who Ran in the Elections	28
Under Lakas ng Bansa	9
Under UNIDO	18
As Independent	1
Number of Those Who Did Not Run	6

Araneta Roxas, chairman of the LP steering committee.³¹⁾ At one time, therefore, it seemed that the gubernatorial contest was going to be a three-cornered fight among Benjamin Laurel (UNIDO), Vicente Mayo (Lakas ng Bansa) and Antonio Leviste (LP-Salonga Wing). But Leviste stepped down in the last stage and LP decided to support Mayo's gubernatorial candidacy.

One salient feature of the 1988 local elections in Batangas was that most of the candidates for the local positions from Governor to city and municipal councilors ran as those of the parties under the ruling coalition that were competing with one another; some ran as independents; and few, under the opposition. Practically speaking, the contests were between UNIDO and Lakas ng Bansa, with the LP-Salonga Wing and PDP-Laban being able to field candidates only in limited numbers of the cities and the municipalities. The result of the elections was as follows. The gubernatorial contest was a landslide for Mayo. Lakas ng Bansa also got Vice-Governor and seven out of the ten provincial

Table 5 Party Affiliations of the Mayors Elected in the 1988 Local Elections

UNIDO	18
Lakas ng Bansa	14*
PDP-Laban	1
Independent (UNIDO Unofficial)	1
Total	34

* including J. Coz, Jr. who run under LP/Lakas ng Bansa. He succeeded his father's candidacy during the campaign period.

board members, while UNIDO elected only three board members. In the mayoral contests, however, UNIDO barely obtained a slight edge over Lakas ng Bansa in terms of the number of mayors elected (see List 7 and Table 5). Interestingly, the thirty-four newly elected mayors included ten of the former KBL mayors who were replaced after the revolution (compare List 4 and List 7); the provincial board included one of them.³²⁾

31) Interview with Villegas. See footnote 29). Also see Anonymous [1988b: 13].

32) The provincial board member was Vicente Kalalo, former KBL Mayor of San Jose. In addition, Jose Z. Coz, Jr., a son of former KBL Mayor of Calatagan was also elected as a mayor.

List 7 Mayors of Batangas Elected in January 1988 and Their Party Affiliations

Municipality/City	Mayor	Party Affiliations January 1988
(First District)		
1. Balayan	B. Martinez	UNIDO
2. Calaca	A. Casanova	UNIDO
3. Calatagan	J. Coz, Jr.	LP/LB
4. Lemery	H. De Castro*	LB
5. Lian	C. Lamano	UNIDO
6. Nasugbu	R. Apacible	LB
7. Taal	L. Cabrera	UNIDO
8. Tuy	L. Calingasan*	UNIDO
(Second District)		
9. Batangas	E. Dimacuha	LB
10. Bauan	B. Castillo*	UNIDO
11. Lobo	L. Ramos	UNIDO
12. Mabini	R. Amurao*	LB
13. San Luis	O. Matro	UNIDO
14. San Pascual	M. Magsaysay	LB
15. Tingloy	J. Atienza	UNIDO
(Third District)		
16. Agoncillo	N. Sagun	UNIDO
17. Alitagtag	R. Macalintal	UNIDO
18. Balete	H. Ramirez*	LB
19. Cuenca	J. La Rosa	UNIDO
20. Laurel	P. Amo*	LB
21. Malvar	P. Villegas	LB
22. Mataas na Kahoy	C. Landicho	UNIDO
23. San Nicolas	T. Mayuga*	LB
24. Sta. Teresita	B. Andal	UNIDO
25. Sto. Tomas	L. Laurel, Jr.*	PDP-Laban
26. Talisay	B. Platon	UNIDO
27. Tanauan	S. Olfato	UNIDO
(Fourth District)		
28. Ibaan	N. Toreja	UNIDO
29. Lipa City	R. Umali	UNIDO
30. Padre Garcia	E. Gutierrez*	LB
31. Rosario	A. Luna	Ind. (UNIDO Unofficial)
32. San Jose	A. Alday	LB
33. San Juan	A. de Villa	LB
34. Taysan	I. Sulit, Jr.*	LB

* Former KBL Mayors

Source: Philippines, Provincial Government of Batangas [1988]; Philippines, Commission on Elections [1987]

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